

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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O 260900Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4697

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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

E O 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- NATO HEADS OF DELEGATION CAUCUS,
JANUARY 25

REF: A) BELGRADE 0542, B) BELGRADE 0543

1. SUMMARY: NATO HEADS OF DELEGATION
CAUCUS MET AFTERNOON OF JANUARY 25 UNDER DANISH CHAIR-
MANSHIP. AFTER OPENING REMARKS BY AMB GOLDBERG,
ALLIES RESPONDED TO US INTENTION TO PUT FORWARD US
VERSION OF WESTERN SYNTHESIS (REF A). CITING NEED TO
PRESERVE ALLIED UNITY AND TO KEEP SOVIETS ON DEFENSIVE,
ALLIES SUGGESTED US GOAL COULD BE ATTEINED BY:
A) FIRM STATEMENT OF COMMON POSITION BY AMBASSADOR
GOLDBERG AT JANUARY 27 PLENARY: B) CONTINUING WORK OF
CONTACT GROUPS: C) PREPARING SHORTER, MORE CONCISE
ALLIED PAPER WHICH WOULD HIGHLIGHT DEFICIENCIES OF
SOVIET DRAFT AND D) PREPARATION OF US
COMPENDIUM PAPER WHICH COULD BE USED IF PRESENT STALE-
MATE CONTIUNIED BEYOND END OF NEXT WEEK. END SUMMARY.

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2. IN INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AMB GOLDBERG ASSURED
ALLIES THAT, IN CONTEMPLATING PUTTING FORWARD US
VERSION OF SYNTESIS PAPER, HE HAD NO INTENTION OF
DECREASING SIGNIFICANCE OF, OR US PARTICIPATION IN,
CONTACT GROUPS. NOR DID HE HAVE ANY INTENTION OF
DISRUPTING ALLIED UNITY IN ANY WAY. AMB. GOLDBERG
NOTED THAT VORONTSOV HAD, IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION,

INVITED HIM TO MAKE BILATERAL DEAL RE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, BUT THAT HE HAD FIRMLY REJECTED SUCH AN OVERTURE IN CONSIDERATION FOR ALLIED UNITY. AMB. GOLDBERG STRESSED THAT HE HAD NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER TO PUT FORWARD US VERSION OF WESTERN SYNTHESIS, ALTHOUGH HE HAD BEEN URGED TO DO SO BY SOME NEUTRAL/ NON-ALIGNED REPS, AND HOPED PRESENT MEETING WOULD OFFER POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER EXPLORING ALLIED VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE.

3. ANISH REP (MELBIN) NOTED THAT NINE HAD MET MORNING OF JANUARY 25 TO CONSIDER THIS POSSIBILITY. SPEAKING FOR EC-9, HE STATED THAT - TAKEN TOGETHER - ALL WESTERN TEXTS NOW ON TABLE OFFERED STRONG AND CONSISTENT WESTERN POSITION ON THE CONFERENCE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. THE SOVIETS, WITH THEIR BRIEF AND WHOLLY UNSATISFACTORY DOCUMENT, WERE NOW DRAWING CRITICISM FROM MANY QUARTERS, INCLUDING SOME NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES. DANISH REP STATED THAT IF US RAISED ANTE BY SUBMITTING TOUGHER US VERSION OF PRESENT SYNTHESIS, SOVIETS COULD USE THIS TO TURN BACK TIDE NOW RUNNING AGAINST THEM AND WOULD USE AS EXCUSE TO BLOCK FUTURE COMPROMISE. US ACTION MIGHT AGAIN RAISE ISSUE OF US-SOVIET CONFRONTATION AT BELGRADE. FURTHER, US ACTION COULD BRING INTO QUESTION STRENGTH OF ALLIED UNITY, SINCE SEPARATE US PAPER COULD BE INTERPRETED

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AS INDICATING DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH BETWEEN ALLIES. REAL ISSUE, NOTED MELBIN, WAS INADEQUACY OF SOVIET DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND INTRANSIGENCE OF SOVIET TACTICS. HE SUGGESTED PREFERRED COURSE FOR EC-9 WOULD BE FOR AMB GOLDBERG TO MAKE STATEMENT AT JANUARY 27 PLENARY STRONGLY CRITICIZING SOVIET DRAFT AND NOTING THAT US, AS WELL AS USSR, HAD THRESHOLD OF TOLERANCE IN AREAS OF KEY INTEREST SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS WOULD ADD TO PRESSURE ON SOVIETS AND COULD BE SUPPORTED BY SEVERAL ALLIES IN PLENARY. ALLIES WOULD WEIGHT-IN STRONGLY IN SUPPORT OF SUCH STATEMENT. A SECOND POSSIBILITY - LESS PREFERRED - WOULD BE FOR US TO TABLE COMPENDIUM OF PREVIOUSLY AGREED WESTERN TEXTS WITHOUT RAISING ANTE BY ADDING TOUGHER LANGUAGE TO THEM.

4. AMB GOLDBERG RESPONDED TO MELBIN STATEMENT BY OUTLINING HIS MAJOR CONCERNs RE PRESENT ALLIED APPROACH. HE STATED ALLIES SEEMED EXCESSIVELY CONCERNED FOR SOVIET TOLERANCE AND HAD MUTED THEIR RESPONSE TO OBFUSCATORY SOVIET TACTICS. ALLIES AND US SHOULD BE MORE VIGOROUS IN FUTURE. AMB NOTED WESTERN POSITION WAS WEAK IF SOVIETS WERE FREE TO PUT FORWARD

INSULTING PROPOSAL, REJECT ALL WESTERN PROPOSALS, THEN
STONEWALL FOR TEN DAYS WITHOUT ADEUQATE WESTERN REPLY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 0583

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

5. NORWEGIAN, CANADIAN, FRG, AND UK REPS MADE STATEMENTS ALONG LINES OF STATEMENT MADE BY DANISH/EC REP.
NORWEGIAN REP (MEVIK) NOTED SOVIETS WOULD CONSIDER POSSIBLE US TABLING OF SYNTHESIS AS PROVOCATION AND THAT THIS COULD WRECK ANY SLIM CHANGES OF COMPROMISE WITH EAST OVER NEXT DAYS. HE RECOMMENDED CONTINUATION OF CALM, BUSINESSLIKE APPROACH BASED ON FIRM ALLIED UNITY, AND CONTINUED PROBING OF SOVIET POSITION FOR POSSIBLE AREAS OF COMPROMISE. FRG REP (FISCHER), NOTING SOVIETS HD BEEN ON DEFENSIVE SINCE BEGINNING OF CONFERENCE STRESSED NEED TO CONTINUE TO USE THIS AGAINST THEM TO EXTRACT CONCESSIONS INKEY AREAS OF WESTERN INTEREST. UK REP (PARSONS) FELT THERE WAS STILL SOME HOPE OF EVENTUALLY REACHING COMPROMISE WITH SOVIETS THROUGH NEWLY ESTABLISHED METHOD OF NEUTRAL/ NON-ALIGNED GO-BETWEENS.

6. NOTING THAT PRESENT DISCUSSION INVOLVED TACTICS RATHER THAN DIFFERENCES OVER STRATEGY, FRENCH REP (RICHER) PROPOSED THAT, IN ADDITIN TO PREFERRED OPTION FOR US ACTION OUTLINED BY DANISH REP, ALLIES JOINTLY DEVELOP NEW DRAFT CONDLCLUDING DOCUMENT. THIS WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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CONCISE, 12 TO 15 PAGE DOCUMENT THAT WOULD INCORPORATE ESSENCE OF WESTERN POSITION AND WOULD STAND IN STARK CONTRAST TO FEEBLE SOVIET EFFORT. SUCH A DOCUMENT WOULD FURTHER ISOLATE SOVIETS, AS IT WOULD BE LIKELY TO DRAW SUPPORT FROM NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNEDS AND OTHERS, AS WELL AS NATO ALLIES.

7. WHILE ALL ALLIES SUPPORTED FRENCH PROPOSAL AND AMB GOLDBERG READILY AGREED TO IT, NO ACTION WAS TAKEN TO IMPLEMENT THIS PROPOSAL. AMB ALSO STATED HE WOULD MAKE FIRM PLENARY STATEMENT JANUARY 27, BUT THAT USDEL WOULD CONTINUE WORK ON PARED-DOWN US VERSION OF SYNTHESIS PAPER WHICH COULD BE USED IN FUTURE EVENTUALITY IF NEGOTIATING SITUATION WARRANTED. PAPER WOULD INCLUDE NEW US HUMAN RIGHTS PROPOSAL FOR CSCE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (REF B). IN VIEW NON-ACTION RE FRENCH PROPOSAL, IT IS EVIDENT US PAPER WILL BE FOCAL POINT OF DISCUSSION AND ACTION. AMBASSADOR PROMISED FULL CONSULTATION WITH ALLIES BEFORE INTRODUCTION OF INDEPENDENT US PAPER.

8. ALLIES AGREED WITH COMMENT BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG THAT BY END OF NEXT WEEK IT SHOULD BE EVIDENT WHETHER PRESENT DRAFTING AND CONTACT GROUP ARRANGEMENT WAS MAKING PROGRESS. IN VIEW THIS SITUATION, AMB SAID IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO HAVE ANOTHER HEADS OF DELEGATION MEETING BEFORE FRIDAY, FEB 3, TO ASSESS SITUATION AND TO DETERMINE WHETHER US PAPER SHOULD GO FORWARD.

9. COMMENT: ALLIES WERE OBVIOUSLY SURPRISED BY AMB GOLDBERG'S WILLINGNESS--DESPITE DEPT INSTRUCTIONS AUTHORIZING HIM TO PROCEED-- TO MAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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REASONABLE ACCOMMODATIONS TO PRESERVE ALLIED UNITY WITHOUT RELINQUISHING BASIC CONCEPT OF NECESSITY OF US PROPOSAL. THEY APPEARED TO APPRECIATE CONTINUED DEMONSTRATION OF US WILLINGNESS TO SERIOUSLY CONSIDER ALLIED VIEWPOINTS WHILE ESSENTIALLY DISAGREEING WITH ALLIED TACTICAL JUDGEMENT ON SOME MAJOR ISSUES.
GOLDBERG

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